

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1739

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 3997

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SW, UN

SUBJECT: PRE-32ND UNGA CONSULTATIONS: SWEDEN

REF: (A) STATE 205678, (B) HELSINKI 1950, (C) STATE 211713,
(D) STOCKHOLM 3867

1. SUMMARY: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COUNSELORS MET WITH
MFA UNITED NATIONS AFFAIRS DIRECTOR ORJAN BERNER, HIS DEPUTY
HAKAN GRANQVIST AND DISARMAMENT SPECIALIST LARS ENGFELDT
SEPTEMBER 16 FOR UNGA REVIEW. BERNER'S RETURN FROM GREECE
ONLY ON SEPTEMBER 15 PREVENTED EARLIER MEETING. ALL ISSUES
LISTED REF A WERE COVERED AND TALKING POINTS ON MORE
IMPORTANT ISSUES WERE LEFT WITH MFA OFFICIALS. IN SEVERAL
INSTANCES, BERNER'S RESPONSES PROCEEDED FROM NORDIC FM'S
MEETING COMMUNIQUE, TO WHICH HE REFERRED OFTEN. ON MIDDLE
EAST, GOS IS SUPPORTIVE OF US EFFORTS TO BRING PARTIES TOGETHER,
GOS MAY BE OUT IN FRONT (WITH FINNS) OF OTHER NORDICS
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ON QUESTION OF PALESTINIANS' RIGHTS INCLUDING RIGHT
TO ESTABLISH A PALESTINIAN STATE; SWEDES WILL BE VERY ACTIVE
ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN AFFAIRS; CLEAR DIFFERENCES WITH US
EXIST ON INTENSITY AND BREADTH OF ANTI-APARTHEID MEASURES
REQUIRED; GOS SUPPORT OF AND INVOLVEMENT IN UN TRANSITION
ADMINISTRATIONS IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA IS CLEARLY
DEPENDENT ON APPROVAL OF BLACK LIBERATION GROUPS AND

FRONT-LINE STATES INVOLVED IN EACH SITUATION; GOS TO INTRODUCE GA RESOLUTION FOR LONG-RANGE STUDY OF LINK BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT; SWEDEN MAY PUSH RESOLUTION ON REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS AND WILL BE GENERALLY ACTIVE IN LAW OF WAR (CRUEL WEAPONS) DEBATE. SWEDEN MORE EXPANSIVE ON UN RESTRUCTURING AND BUDGET QUESTIONS, PREPARED TO FOLLOW LDC CONSENSUS. MAJOR ISSUES OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE WERE NOT RAISED. COMMENTS OF BERNER AND OTHERS TO SPECIFIC ISSUES FOLLOW.

END SUMMARY

2. POLITICAL ISSUES

A. MIDDLE EAST--BERNER REFERRED TO THE NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING COMMUNIQUE (REF B) AND TO FM SODER'S SPEECH TO THE SWEDISH UN ASSOCIATION ON SEPTEMBER 9 FOR STATEMENTS OF SWEDISH POLICY ON THIS ISSUE. HE AGREED WITH US ASSESSMENT THAT DEBATE WOULD BE DIFFICULT AS ARAB GOVERNMENTS WILL ATTACK ISRAEL ALONG BROAD FRONT AS INDICATED REF A. AMONG CRITICISMS, HE THOUGHT, ISRAEL'S ALLEGED SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTION WOULD BE HIGHLIGHTED, INCLUDING ALLEGED ISRAELI DELIVERIES OF GABRIEL MISSILES TO SOUTH AFRICA. ON GENERAL POLICY, GOS SUPPORTS EARLIEST POSSIBLE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN WHICH ALL PARTIES INVOLVED, INCLUDING PLO, SHOULD PARTICIPATE. ONE CONDITION FOR SETTLEMENT IS THAT PALESTINIANS' NATIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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RIGHTS BE HONORED, AMONG WHICH IS THE RIGHT TO FORM THEIR OWN STATE. HE SAID 242 AND 338 CONTINUE TO FORM THE BASIS FOR A SOLUTION, IN THE SWEDISH VIEW, BUT INTIMATED SWEDEN COULD SUPPORT "AN ADDITION TO 338" WHICH, WHILE REFERRING TO 242, WOULD CLEARLY DELINEATE THE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS.

B. CYPRUS--BERNER LIMITED HIS COMMENTS HERE TO LAMENTING THE "UNDERSTANDABLE" WITHDRAWAL OF THE FINNISH CONTINGENT FROM THE UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE ON THE ISLAND. HE POINTED OUT THAT UN DEBT TO GOS FOR SWEDISH CONTINGENT IS NOW IN EXCESS OF US\$25 MILLION AND HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT US, UK, FRG AND OTHER VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR BEST EFFORTS TO SEE THAT TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES ARE FULLY REIMBURSED.

C. SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES--BERNER AGREED WITH OBSERVATION OF POLICIES THAT GOS AND US SHARED SAME GENERAL ASPIRATIONS AND OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT THAT OCCASIONAL DIFFERENCES EXISTED OVER THE PACE AND THRUST OF MEASURES DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE IN THE AREA. IT IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST TO NARROW THESE DIFFERENCES. BERNER SAID THE GOS AND SWEDISH PUBLIC OPINION FIRMLY BELIEVE SOLUTIONS CONCEIVED BY OUTSIDE

ELEMENTS, NO MATTER HOW REASONABLE THEY MAY APPEAR TO BE,
MUST HAVE THE APPROVAL OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST FORCES
INVOLVED--THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN THE RHODESIAN CASE,
SWAPO IN NAMIBIA AND THE ANC IN SOUTH AFRICA--AS WELL AS
THE SO-CALLED FRONT-LINE STATES. (1) RHODESIA--BERNER
EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOS HOPES US-UK EFFORTS FOR A
PEACEFUL SOLUTION ARE SUCCESSFUL. SWEDEN IS PREPARED,
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN, TO HELP EFFECTUATE THE
UK-US PROPOSAL FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. A "NATURAL
CONDITION," HOWEVER, IS THAT THIS AND ALL OTHER PROPOSALS,
AND ALL SWEDISH COOPERATION TO CARRY THEM OUT, "MUST
HAVE THE EXPLICIT SUPPORT" OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. BERNER ALLUDED TO THE OPPOSITION
THUS FAR OF NKOMO AND MUGABE TO THE UK-US PROPOSAL
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AND TO THE VISIT TO SWEDEN THIS WEEK OF MUGABE. POLCOUNS
REFERRED TO THE POSITIVE REACTION THE UK-US PROPOSAL HAS
HAD IN SOME AFRICAN CIRCLES, NEYRERE FOR EXAMPLE, AND
THAT OLOF PALME SAW SOME MERIT IN THE PLAN (STOCKHOLM
3945). HE SAID MUGABE'S VISIT WAS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR
THE GOS TO EXPOSE THE ZANU LEADER TO THE WIDESPREAD
BELIEF THAT THE UK-US PLAN COULD REPRESENT THE LAST HOPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 3997

FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO BALCK RULE. BERNER SAID THAT, OF COURSE, THE GOS WOULD TAKE THIS LINE BUT WAS NOT AT ALL SANGUINE THAT MUGABE WAS CONVINCIBLE. BERNER CONCLUDED WITH EXPRESSIONS OF DOUBT OVER GOS PARTICIPATION IN ANY UN TROOP PRESENCE IN RHODESIA OPPOSED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. (2) NAMIBIA-- BERNER REFERRED TO THE EXCELLENT BRIEFING PRESENTED THE GOS ON AUGUST 17 BY AMBASSADOR MCHENRY (STOCKHOLM 477) AND INDICATED GUARDED OPTIMISM ON SWEDISH PARTICIPATION IN A UN-ADMINISTERED TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN NAMIBIA. THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE, HE THOUGHT, HAD ADDED TO THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED. FOR SWEDEN, HE STRESSED, IT IS AN "ABSOLUTE CONDITION" THAT SWAPO SUPPORT ANY SOLUTION AGREED UPON BY THE WESTERN FIVE AND SOUTH AFRICA. (3) SOUTH AFRICA--LEGISLATION IS CERTAIN TO BE ADOPTED AT THE FALL SESSION OF THE RIKSDAG WHICH WOULD BAN SWEDISH CAPITAL EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA. BERNER AGREED THAT THE GOS, IN EFFECT, HAD BOUGHT PALME'S CONFIDENTIAL

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INSISTENCE ON A FORMAL LEGAL BAN ON NEW INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AS OPPOSED TO THE VOLUNTARY PROGRAM FAVORED BY THE GOVERNMENT ONLY LAST SPRING. BERNER SAID HE IS UNCERTAIN WHETHER THE GOS WOULD SPONSOR A RESOLUTION IN THE 32ND SESSION CALLING FOR A SC RECOMMENDATION AGAINST NEW INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, AS IT HAD IN THE 31ST UNGA. THE GOS, BERNER OBSERVED, DOES NOT SHARE US RESERVATIONS REGARDING ACTIONS TAKEN UNDER CHAPTER VII AND INDICATED THAT SWEDEN IS PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE BROADEST RANGE OF MEASURES AIMED AT APARTHEID. THE GOS WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

D. DISARMAMENT--(1) SSOD--LIKE THE US, THE GOS IS GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY THE MODERATION AND DETERMINATION TO MAKE PROGRESS WHICH HAS THUS FAR CHARACTERIZED THE PREPARATORY MEETINGS LEADING UP TO NEXT SPRING'S SSOD. ENGFELDT SAID SWEDEN WILL BE AMONG MORE ACTIVE GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED IN BOTH GA DISARMAMENT DEBATE AND IN SSOD DELIBERATIONS. HE SAID PROGRESS IN MANY OTHER AREAS OTHER THAN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IS INCREASINGLY URGENT. (2) CW-- BERNER AND ENGFELDT EXPRESSED GENERAL SWEDISH DISAPPOINTMENT THAT SUPERPOWERS HAD BEEN UNABLE TO MAKE MORE PROGRESS TOWARD AGREEMENT AT CCD. THERE WOULD BE HEIGHTENED NON-ALIGNED PRESSURES IN THE GA FOR IMMEDIATE CW RESTRICTIONS. (3) NON-USE OF FORCE--GOS WILL OPPOSE SOVIET PROPOSAL. (4) CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS--GOS, ENGFELDT SAID, WILL PUT FORWARD RESOLUTION IN GA FOR LONG-

RANGE STUDY OF LINK BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.
AMBASSADOR THORSSON WILL BE MOST ACTIVE HERE. A NORDIC
WORKING-LEVEL MEETING OF DISARMAMENT EXPERTS WILL BE HELD
IN HELSINKI ON OCTOBER 7 TO REFINE THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL.
GOS EXPECTS THAT SSOD WILL DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO THE
DISARMAMENT-DEVELOPMENT CONNECTION. ENGFELDT REFERRED
TO THE "EXCELLENT" TALKS HELD BETWEEN ACDA DIRECTOR
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WARNKE AND AMBASSADOR THORSSON IN WASHINGTON ON
SEPTEMBER 12 DURING WHICH CAT ISSUES WERE DISCUSSED.
(COMMENT: EMBASSY HAS NOT YET RECEIVED REPORT ON THIS
MEETING.) HE SAID GOS LOOKS FORWARD TO FREQUENT
CONSULTATIONS WITH US IN NEW YORK ON CAT. BERNER ADDED
THAT GOS RECOGNIZED THE COMPLEXITY OF CAT RESTRICTIONS
AND THAT A SOLUTION CANNOT LIE IN PRODUCER BOYCOTTS
OR OTHER MEASURES AIMED AT EITHER PRODUCERS OR BUYERS
ALONE BUT IN AGREEMENTS INVOLVING BOTH SIDES. BERNER
WAS REMINDED OF CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S MAY STATEMENT
THAT CATS ARE NOW TO BE CONSIDERED EXCEPTIONAL FOREIGN
POLICY INSTRUMENTS AND POLCOUNS SAID HE WOULD NOT BE
SURPRISED IF CAT ISSUE WAS INCLUDED IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S
ADDRESS TO THE GA ON OCTOBER 4. (5) ENGFELDT SAID
AMBASSADOR HANS BLIX IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN PREPARATIONS
RELATED TO UNGA DEBATE ON RESTRICTIONS AGAINST THE USE
OF CRUEL WEAPONS (PROCEEDING FROM THE LAW OF WAR
CONFERENCE IN GENEVA). (6) SWEDEN IS ACTIVELY CONSIDERING
HOW BEST TO PUSH ITS PROPOSAL FOR REDUCTION OF MILITARY
BUDGETS BUT HAS MADE NO DECISION YET WHETHER TO PUT FORWARD
A FORMAL RESOLUTION.

E. PUERTO RICO--BERNER SAID GOS WAS NOT AT ALL DISTURBED
BY COMMITTEE OF 24 ACTION WHICH EFFECTIVELY PUTS OFF
DEBATE UNTIL NEXT YEAR.

F. GUAM--BERNER SAID THAT GOS, "LIKE ALL NORDICS,"
WILL ABSTAIN ON THIS YEAR'S RESOLUTION.

G. KOREA--GOS HAS NO INFORMATION WHICH WOULD INDICATE
THAT NORTH KOREA INTENDS TO REINTRODUCE ITS RESOLUTION
THIS YEAR.

3. HUMAN RIGHTS--SWEDEN, BERNER SAID, WILL CONTINUE
TO EXPRESS ITSELF FORCEFULLY IN ALL DEBATES TOUCHING
UPON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, NOT ONLY WITH REGARD TO
SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT ON CHILE AND PERHAPS OTHER COUNTRY
SITUATIONS AS WELL. SWEDISH EFFORTS TO INCREASE
PROTECTION AND IMPROVED TREATMENT FOR POLITICAL
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PRISONERS WILL PROCEED AS WELL AS ATTEMPTS TO CONVINCE
THE UN TO PUT CAPITAL PUNISHMENT ON THE AGENDA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 3997

A. HIGH COMMISSIONER--BERNER WAS GIVEN PRESS INTERVIEW
COMMENTS OF AMBASSADOR LEONARD ON SEPTEMBER 14 AS RECEIVED
IN WIRELESS INDICATING CONTINUED US SUPPORT FOR
ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS POSITION, AS PROPOSED BY SWEDEN AND
OTHERS.

B. DECADE AGAINST RACISM--SWEDEN OPPOSES ZIONISM-RACISM
LINK AND WILL OPPOSE MEASURES IN WHICH THE CONNECTION IS
MADE EXPLICIT.

C. TORTURE--BERNER SAID GOS IS CARRYING ON CONSUTATIONS
WITH INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS ON HOW BEST TO PROCEED WITH
ITS PROPOSED CONVENTION ON TORTURE. HE DID NOT RAISE
VISIT TO STOCKHOLM THIS WEEK OF DUTCH MFA OFFICIAL
(USUN 2889) NOR DID HE MAKE CLEAR THE PROGRESS, IF ANY,
OF SWEDISH ATTEMPTS TO FIND SUPPORT FOR ITS INITIATIVE.
POLCOUNS MADE CLEAR CONTINUED US PREFERENCE FOR WHAT WE
BELIEVE IS MORE EFFECTIVE MECHANISM, I.E., A WORKING
GROUP ON TORTURE SET UP BY GA TO MONITOR SPECIFIC CASES.

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4. MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET--(A) RESTRUCTURING. ALTHOUGH AGREEING THAT MEASURES TO INCREASE THE "EFFICIENCY AND EFFECTIVENESS" OF THE UN WOULD BE LAUDABLE, MFA OFFICIALS HAD LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT RESTRUCTURING. THE NOTED THAT THE LDCS HAVE NOT BEEN INTERESTED IN RESTRUCTURING UNLESS IT WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY REAL ADVANCE IN "SUBSTANTIVE" MANNER. BERNER NOTED THAT DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE LDCS IN RECENT CIEC CONFERENCE TO ILLUSTRATE HIS POINT. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE GENERALLY SATISFACTORY OPERATIONS OF ACABQ COMMITTEE, BUT DID NOT ADMIT TO AN INTEREST IN RESTRICTING ITS MEMBERSHIP. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT GOS WILL BE GUIDED ON RESTRUCTURING QUESTIONS CHIEFLY BY ANY CONSENSUS ACHIEVED BY THE LDCS. (B) BUDGET, CONFERENCES, AND SALARIES--BERNER SAID THERE IS NO MAGIC UPPER LIMIT ON UN BUDGET. HE POINTED OUT THAT SWEDEN HAS GIVEN STRONG SUPPORT TO UN AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OVER THE YEARS, FINDING IN THE UN A MEANS OF RESPONDING TO WORLDWIDE ISSUES. SWEDEN'S PROBLEMS WITH UN FINANCES ARE NOT IN BUDGET SIZE BUT IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATION EXPENSES FOR WHICH THE UN HAS NOT YET REIMBURSED THE SWEDES. FOR EXAMPLE, CYPRUS, CITED ABOVE, WHERE \$25 MILLION IS STILL OWED.

5. ECONOMIC ISSUES--RESUMED 31ST UNGA, INCLUDING CIEC. SEE REF D. KEY NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES: MFA OFFICIALS DID NOT REFER TO THE MAJOR ITEMS OF DEBATE IN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. HOWEVER, WE HAVE LEARNED FROM OTHER MFA OFFICIALS THAT THEY FIND THE US POSITION ON THE COMMON FUND TO HAVE EVOLVED IN A VERY POSITIVE WAY, PARTICULARLY IN SOURCES OF FINANCING.

6. GOS DELEGATION (REF C)--FM KARIN SODER WILL LEAD GOS DELEGATION AND WILL ARRIVE IN NEW YORK ON
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SEPTEMBER 25. SHE IS SCHEDULED TO ADDRESS GA ON SEPTEMBER 29. MFA POLITICAL DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR KNUT THYBERG WILL BE AMONG THOSE ACCOMPANYING FM. MINISTER FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE OLA ULLSTEN WILL ADDRESS GA IN OCTOBER ON DEVELOPMENT MATTERS AND, AS MENTIONED, AMBASSADORS HANS BLIX AND INGA THORSSON WILL BE IN NEW YORK FOR CONSIDERABLE PERIODS FOR DISARMAMENT ITEMS. THERE HAS NOT BEEN AND THERE IS UNLIKELY TO BE ANY GOS REQUEST FOR BILATERALS WITH EITHER THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY.

7. MFA BACKSTOPPING--THE SWEDISH MFA IO SECTION IS COMPOSED OF EIGHT OFFICERS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR COORDINATING THE ENTIRE RANGE OF UN-RELATED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT. THAT THEY MANAGE SO ADEQUATELY IS ALWAYS REASON FOR ADMIRATION. SUCH "THINNESS" IS ABOUT TO BE TESTED, HOWEVER, WITH THE TRANSFER OF THE DIRECTOR AND HIS DEPUTY. BERNER WILL BE REPLACED BY PAR KETTIS (NOW COUNSELOR IN WARSAW) ON OCTOBER 1 WHILE DEPUTY LARS SCHONANDER HAS ALREADY BEEN REPLACED BY HAKAN GRANQVIST (TRANSFERRED FROM ROME). KETTIS HAS NO EXPERIENCE IN UN AFFAIRS AND IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE NEW TEAM CAN EVENTUALLY REPEAT THE EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE OF BERNER AND SCHONANDER.
KENNEDY-MINOTT

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